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Heighten the Sense of Discipline

- Some understanding from studying "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army"

by

Fang Hai (方海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 18, 1975)

The great leader Chairman Mao has all along given serious attention to strengthening education on Party discipline. Whenever the revolution reaches a turning point, he invariably will lay special stress on the need to educate the entire Party to heighten its sense of discipline. In October 1947, under the victorious situation when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was shifting to a general counter-offensive, Chairman Mao in a "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" once again called on the whole Party and the whole army to "heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders, carry out policy, carry out the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention -- with army and people united, army and government united, officers and soldiers united, and the whole army united -- and permit no breach of discipline." Today, re-reading this teaching of Chairman Mao's makes us realize still more profoundly that persisting in the iron discipline of the Party is the essential condition insuring the victory of the revolution.

Why is it necessary to put such a strong emphasis on the iron discipline of the Party? Because discipline is the guarantee for carrying out the line. Without discipline the Party cannot lead the masses and the army to wage successful struggle. The practice of revolutionary struggle proves that only revolutionary forces that are guided by a correct ideological and political line can have strict revolutionary discipline, which in turn assures the implementation of the correct ideological and political line by the revolutionary forces. The reason why our Party and army have been able to grow from small to big and from weak to strong in the prolonged Chinese revolutionary war is that we have had not only the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line but also the revolutionary discipline personally drawn up by him to insure the thorough execution of the correct line and organizational consolidation and unity. Our cadres and soldiers won the confidence of the people by resolutely carrying out the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention." They did so through their concrete revolutionary actions, such as "not taking a single needle or thread from the masses," not taking a single apple from the homes of the people, sleeping in the streets on entering big cities, "speaking gently," "doing business fairly," "returning things borrowed," "paying compensation for things damaged," and "not beating or swearing at people." We put into practice the Party's democratic centralism, namely, "the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, and

the entire membership to the Central Committee." In this way, the entire Party and the entire army were twisted into a single rope and won the victory in the revolutionary war.

Unlike the revolutionary forces led by our Party, the Kuomintang reactionary army, though superior in number and weapons and looking very impressive, became a paper tiger fierce in appearance but weak inwardly; this was because it followed a counter-revolutionary and anti-popular reactionary line and while it was unable to achieve internal unity it was also divorced from the broad masses of the people. In the years of raging war, our people had always taken strict discipline or lack of it as an important hallmark distinguishing a revolutionary army from a reactionary one. In the play "Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy," Li Yung-ch'i is a typical example. Long oppressed by the Kuomintang reactionaries, he had had enough of the evil deeds of this and that "army" and had always regarded soldiers and bandits as members of the same family. When a PLA unit entered his small mountain village that was often harassed by soldier-bandits, he thought that the "army of destruction" had come again, and picked up a chopper to fight them to the death. However, when he saw that those soldiers who entered the village "helped people with difficulties and treated the sick and the dying, caring for them with warmth and affection" and when that "official," the chief of staff, patiently and gently explained to him the policies of the Party, he could not help singing with deep feeling: "How long I've waited! Today, our men have come, fighting off the native bandits and going deep into the jungle to relieve the poor of their sufferings!" Here we see what a great might strict revolutionary discipline is demonstrating! The small detachment with strict discipline in "Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" is the epitome of our cadres and our army. Li Yung-ch'i's feeling of love and hate is a typical reflection on the sentiment of the millions and millions of the Chinese people. The victorious course of the entire Chinese revolutionary war fully testifies to the absolute correctness of the truth that "heightening the sense of discipline makes the revolution invincible."

Strict discipline is necessary in the years of revolutionary war. In the socialist period following the seizure of state power by the proletariat, whether we can stick to the iron discipline of the Party is still a question of principle bearing on whether we can carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In 1920, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out explicitly: Strict discipline or lack of it is an extremely important question of whether it is possible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "One of the basic conditions for defeating the bourgeoisie is the unconditional centralism and most strict discipline of the proletariat." He added: "If our Party does not have a most strict, genuinely iron discipline and if it does not have the wholehearted support of the working class and all the masses...., then the Bolsheviks cannot stay in power for even two and a half months, let alone two and a half years." These teachings of Lenin's are entirely applicable to our China. When the Chinese revolution entered the historical period of socialism, Chairman Mao likewise repeatedly stressed the need to strengthen the

sense of discipline and to promote the revolutionary tradition of our Party and army in strictly observing discipline during the period of revolutionary war. On a number of occasions he pointed out: We must "use the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention to educate the soldiers, the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the people."

What makes Lenin and Chairman Mao put so much emphasis on the need to stick to the iron discipline of the Party even under the dictatorship of the proletariat? On the one hand, strict discipline is a fine tradition of the proletarian political party and must be maintained and promoted, not neglected in the least, at all times and under all circumstances; on the other hand, strengthening revolutionary discipline is dictated by the existence of the sharp and complex class struggle in the socialist period. Unwilling to take defeat lying down, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes still seek to make a comeback and to corrupt and split the proletariat and its political party by such means as "peaceful evolution" and "going in and dragging people out." The transformation of the petty bourgeoisie has barely begun, and its spontaneous forces are still influencing and encircling the proletariat on all sides. An important means by which the bourgeoisie launches its attack on the proletariat is to use the liberal and disorganized tendencies and anarchical spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie to weaken revolutionary discipline and undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when the extremely strict centralism and discipline are enforced within the proletarian political party can the unity and solidarity of the Party be consolidated and can it lead the proletariat and the masses of people to beat the attack and corruption of the bourgeoisie. Whoever thinks revolutionary discipline is not that important in the socialist period, whoever weakens, even a little bit, the iron discipline of the proletarian political party, will in fact help the bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat, will naturally not be able to stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, will definitely divorce himself from the masses, will consciously or unconsciously be exploited by the bourgeoisie, and may even embark on a dangerous road.

Strict revolutionary discipline is not only necessary for the proletariat to oppose the bourgeoisie but also necessary for deeply developing the two-line struggle within the Party. Lenin pointed out: "Negation of the Party spirit, negation of Party discipline -- this is a conclusion derived from the opposition." Representatives of the opportunist line within the Party, in order to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have all carried out conspiratorial activities to split the Party, seriously impairing Party discipline. Chang Kuo-t'ao, for one, obeyed orders openly while disobeying them secretly, said one thing and did another, spoke nice things to your face and made trouble behind your back, developing from small group activities to opposition to the Party Central Committee. Both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, in an attempt to restore capitalism, also tried by all possible means to undermine the discipline of the Party and vainly tried to use the bourgeois reactionary discipline to safeguard their revisionist line. Liu

Shao-ch'i advocated the "docile tool theory" in an attempt to use bourgeois discipline to hoodwink and bind the masses hand and foot. Lin Piao went even further in trampling Party discipline underfoot; while stirring up anarchical ideas and bourgeois factionalism, he trumpeted slavishness asking people to follow his revisionist line blindly and absolutely. Within the counter-revolutionary groups, they also advocated the samurai spirit of Japanese warlordism such as "if you do not succeed, sacrifice your lives to complete the virtue" and vigorously promoted fascist discipline.

In calling for strict observance of Party discipline, we must continue to deeply criticize the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in sabotaging proletarian discipline and their promotion of bourgeois and revisionist reactionary discipline. Different classes have different rules of discpline. We must firmly criticize the bourgeois and revisionist rules of discipline and strictly observe the proletarian rules of discipline. We must consciously restrain ourselves with socialist discipline, so that in all our words and deeds we shall submit to the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and do everything fully in accord with the call and directives of the Party Central Committee. Discipline must be subject to a class analysis. In no way must we interpret observing revolutionary discipline as promoting slavishness, nor must we pass off such non-Marxist ideas as one-sided emphasis on control, supervision and repression for revolutionary discipline. The revolutionary discipline of the proletariat is conscious discipline based on the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, and must be observed by both cadres and the masses. The bourgeoisie always wants to make a breach in the sense of organization and discipline and create confusion in order to undermine the fine situation of stability and unity under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We emphasize the need to strictly abide by revolutionary discipline precisely for the purpose of boycotting and opposing all kinds of non-Marxist erroneous thoughts and actions.

Strengthening education on revolutionary discipline has been consistently an idea put forth by Chairman Mao, and is also a vital aspect of the current study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. We should really understand, both in theory and in practice, the connection between strict Party discipline and the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and consolidation of proletarian dictatorship as well as the basic distinction between proletarian revolutionary discipline and bourgeois reactionary discipline. Only by making these questions clear can we fully recognize the importance of strengthening revolutionary discipline and heighten our consciousness of observing revolutionary discipline. In summing up our Party's experience in struggle against Chang Kuo-t'ao's opportunist line, Chairman Mao stated: "Some people violate discipline because they do not know what Party discipline is. But others, who make the mistakes knowingly, Chang Kuo-t'ao for instance, achieve their evil designs by capitalizing on the ignorance of many Party members. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct among the Party members education on Party discipline so as to enable Party members in general not only

observe discipline but also supervise the leaders of the Party in such a way that they too will do the same, so that a repetition of the Chang Kuo-t'ao incident may be avoided." Apart from double-dealers, some people in our revolutionary ranks do not pay serious attention to or violate Party discipline mostly because they do not understand what Party discipline is nor understand that democracy and centralization, freedom and discipline are a unity. Consequently, influenced by bourgeois ideas, they often one-sidedly emphasize one aspect while negating another. The fact that there are people who obey or disobey Party and state discipline as they please or even exploit it to suit their own ends, and the fact that there are people who ignore democracy and are used to scold and repress people at will, who think that their words are final and who promote slavishness -- in both cases it is a manifestation of one-sidedness. It is only when we seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, use proletarian ideology to overcome bourgeois ideology and eradicate the influence of bourgeois factionalism and anarchical ideas that we can really create a political situation in which there are both centralization and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Lenin pointed out: To safeguard the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, "first, we must rely on the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its loyalty to the revolution, its tenacity, its spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, we must rely on its capability to get in touch with the broadest sections of the laboring masses, first and foremost the laboring masses of the proletariat and likewise with the non-proletarian laboring masses, and even to a certain degree become one with them. Third, we must rely on the correct political leadership this vanguard exercises, its correct political strategy and tactics, which the broadest sections of the masses believe to be correct on the basis of their personal experience." Our Party and our army, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have persisted in the iron discipline of the Party and insured the victory of the revolution in the long revolutionary war and in the past 20 decades and more of socialist revolution. From now on, we must still persist in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in accordance with these conditions set by Lenin, unswervingly observe Party discipline, build close ties with the masses, further promote stability and unity, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and win still greater victories in socialist revolution.

* * *

People Who Create Miracles

- Day-to-day jottings about the Chinshan construction site

by

Chin Sheng-hsi (金盛曦)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No.7, July 18, 1975)

The mountains are cheering, the seas laughing. The Chinshan construction site reverberates with revolutionary vigor and fighting spirit.

Day and night the site is astir. Early in the morning when the sun has just appeared above the sea, the golden sky still glistens with the fading stars. Early-shift workers have just begun the day's battle. Night falls. Deep silence prevails. But lights are everywhere on the construction site. With the sparks from the soldering guns flying around and whirring motors mingling with the cheerful sounds of labor, tens of thousands of builders, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and armed with the theory of proletarian dictatorship, follow the example of Tach'ing workers to compose a song in praise of socialism on the sprawling seashore stretching miles around.

Who would have dreamed that what was an empty stretch of beach two years before has now boasted a big dike eight kilometers long and more than six meters high? The project occupies an area of nearly 10,000 mow of land where rows of factory buildings and towers have appeared. Huge smokestacks, dozens of oil tanks and reaction towers of assorted shapes tower above rows of factory premises and living quarters which have mushroomed from the ground. Sums of money invested in the capital construction project last year far exceeded the total amount of funds invested in the biggest capital construction project completed in Shanghai in the past. After the campaign to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the volume of construction work completed in the first half of this year alone exceeded by 30 percent the amount of work accomplished throughout last year. Isn't this a miracle? Yes, it is, rare elsewhere in the world. Once the masses of the people take hold of the destiny of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist economy under the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist line, they can accomplish earth-shaking feats!

Dedicating Oneself to Socialism

"It's most gratifying to be able to participate in such a large-scale socialist project and to contribute toward strengthening the material foundation of proletarian dictatorship." When people talk about the Chinshan project they invariably approach the subject with feelings of excitement and satisfaction.

The Chinshan site unfolds before people a magnificent scroll of socialism. Under construction here is the Shanghai Petrochemical Complex, a large-scale industrial project combining a dozen factories ranging from oil refining to chemical engineering, from chemical fibers to plastics, from electric power plant to water plant, from machinery repair to sewage treatment. Completion of the phase-I project would produce chemical fibers - dacron, chinlon and vinylon, which if woven into various kinds of chemical fabrics may be supplied to the population of the whole country at about 2½ feet per head every year.

This project has something more to offer, such as:

An island-type wharf capable of handling 10,000-ton class oil tankers on the southwest coast of the complex, in the vicinity of the proposed "big port in the East" envisioned in Sun Yat-sen's "An Outline of National Reconstruction";

A branch railway line that links the Chinshan complex with Shanghai, stretching more than 40 kilometers and including a three-kilometer-long double-decker bridge, spanning across the Huangpu River;

The construction of several hundred thousand square kilometers of living quarters, shops, schools, nurseries, a hospital, a cultural palace and a sports stadium. This means a new oil city will rise above the once swampy stretch of seashore.

This project is the result of implementing Chairman Mao's strategic principle "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," a project that seeks to develop China's petrochemical industry at an accelerated pace, a project that gives expression to the deep solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party for the people of the whole country. Prior to the great cultural revolution, few projects of comparable magnitude were ever in existence in China, let alone Shanghai. The Chinshan complex, now under construction, is but one of the many huge projects being undertaken in our country. The great proletarian cultural revolution has given a powerful impetus to the development of social productive forces in China. Shouldn't we feel gratified and excited about the thriving scene that has prevailed in our great socialist motherland since the great cultural revolution?

Before liberation Chinshan was an old city lying north of the site for the petrochemical complex. It was along this stretch of beach that the imperialist aggressors more than 30 years ago managed to land. The old city even now retains the trees and ponds where the people of Chinshan were hanged and slaughtered, part of the class hatred and national grievances as well as the deep suffering of the Chinese people in the past when the three big mountains were bearing upon them. "Only socialism can save China." And only socialism can free the people from a life of misery, from exploitation and enslavement. Like the people of the whole country since liberation, the inhabitants of Chinshan have happily taken the socialist road. With deep feelings they are now engaged in the construction of a socialist project on the

stretch of land which previously was soaked with the blood and tears of its inhabitants. When armies of builders from every corner of the country converged on the tide-washed flatland, many of them promptly headed for the old city to look at the traces of the past, reminders of the sufferings of the people of Chinshan in the old society. Before inscriptions bearing on class education and on the construction site seething with activity, they angrily denounced the evils of the old society and condemned Lin Piao's crimes in "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." They turned the construction site into a battleground for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. In studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship early this year people linked Chinshan's present with its past. They came to realize that to prevent a recurrence of past misery they must keep the land of proletarian dictatorship intact and ceaselessly uproot the old bases of capitalism, the more thoroughly the better. From dawn to dusk innumerable cadres, young workers and master workmen on the construction site applied themselves to works by Marx and Lenin and by Chairman Mao, jotting down in their notebooks what they had observed and studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship. No matter how busy construction was, many units continued to conduct study classes and hold sessions to exchange study experience and criticize non-proletarian ideas. They were not only dedicated to carrying the Chinshan project to completion with high quality and at top speed but also were determined to turn it into a fighting fortress for combating and preventing revisionism. "To consolidate and strengthen proletarian dictatorship," they said, "we have guts to spare."

From here, haven't we found the key to unlocking men's minds? Why is it that those heroes fighting day and night on the construction site always possess such a burst of energy and bubble with revolutionary enthusiasm? It is because they have closely linked their work with the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They regard the mud they carry, the section of wall they put up, the seam they cement and the piece of equipment they jack up as a bullet fired at capitalism and revisionism, as lending a hand to the consolidation and strengthening of the material foundation of the proletarian dictatorship.

Exertion of Effort Required

Doing something for socialism calls for the exertion of effort, unyielding effort that embodies the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. It is exactly this surge of spiritual strength and vigor that pushes people forward and encourages the builders on the Chinshan project to press ahead with the undaunted spirit of heroes to win one victory after another for the sake of the socialist cause.

The Chinshan project involves an extraordinary round of battle. Building a city on the tide-washed swampland calls for the expenditure of a massive work force! Factory buildings alone cover an area of 1,400,000 square meters. Parallel mains above and below the surface stretch more than 1,200 kilometers long, let alone the enormous amount of earthwork and installations. Someone reckoned that the amount of installations

contracted to the Shanghai Industrial Equipment and Installation Company alone more than doubled its present production capacity. Completing a project of such a vast scale, requiring innumerable construction items and coordinating operations of high technological standards, within a short period of time was something unheard of for Shanghai's capital construction departments.

Whether or not to fight a battle on a scale not attempted before and whether or not to complete a project at top speed and with high quality involved a fierce struggle between the two ideologies and the two lines. Some people doubted completion of the project as scheduled while others were emphatic in dismissing the proposition as impossible assignment. However, once the workers recognized the significance of the project they linked the pace of the project with the tasks of accelerating socialist construction and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their reply was brisk: "Despite the time limit and the magnitude of the project and technological requirements, we workers have the vigor and aspirations to get things done. What the Chinese people say counts!"

Erecting a dike on the beach was our first battle on the worksite, a formidable task that was entrusted to the 50,000 poor and lower-middle peasants from Chinshan and Pinghu counties as well as contingents of builders, transport and piling workers. Braving the snowstorm and defying the bitter cold and because there was no shelter on the swampland, the workers ate at the dike site and slept in the homes of the poor and lower-middle peasants on the seashore. With revolutionary vigor and enthusiasm, the vast numbers of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants battled with nature and threw themselves into the battle to build the dike with mud moved from the seashore to the dike site. In only 32 days they braved the bitter cold to build two dikes, one smaller than the other, with 1,200,000 cubes of earthwork. Completion of the dike site scored the first victory for the Chinshan project.

Someone dedicated a poem to the battle to build the Chinshan project in the bitter cold of a hard winter, in praise of the hard struggle of the builders at the worksite and their devotion to the socialist cause.

The Chinshan project has been a battle to smash fortresses, a battle demanding annihilating, quick and decisive actions. To win this big battle, on a scale not encountered before, it would be necessary to display the spirit of daring to fight and to win, to endure great hardships, to press ahead at top speed."

The battle fought by Chinlon Plant and Peifang Silk Textiles Workshop was a fight "at top speed."

One was known for its ambition and effort on the worksite. Its work schedule was delayed four months due to certain objective factors. But then the workers were determined to catch up and show something to the "bourgeois lords."

The other with a total area of more than 34,000 square meters pledged to complete a delayed earthwork construction project within 45 days.

After battling for 13 days and nights machine operators and earthwork builders on the worksite combined their efforts and completed two days ahead of schedule the hoisting and installation of more than 5,000 frames of reinforced concrete weighing more than 13,000 tons. Before the construction project was nearing completion, the comrades of participating units were at the worksite to watch anxiously the workers of different occupations coordinating their operations and exerting their utmost to meet the construction schedule. They completed the big workshop project in only 40 days, a fast job indeed considering the massive size of the worksite, 34,000 square meters in all!

This communist ideology of dedicating oneself to the revolutionary cause in total disregard of both time and remuneration has prevailed on the Chinshan construction site. When all the members of a women's painting squad of Team 105 were studying Lenin's brilliant work "Subbotniks" last October, they proposed launching an increased production and economy drive with the help of voluntary labor. This proposal, believed to meet the needs of accelerating socialist construction, upholding the continued revolution, combating and preventing revisionism, and keeping the Party from being influenced by a decadent capitalist environment, spread rapidly among both the League (CYL) members and the rank and file on the worksite.

We have heard accounts of innumerable comrades performing labor day and night on the worksite, through morning, noon and night shifts, sometimes even 20 to 30 hours at a stretch. When the leadership asked them to take a rest, they would often decline on the ground that work had not been completed. Some comrades identified themselves as the "revolutionary squad" and offered to go to battle where they would be needed, regardless of day or night. To see that these comrades had proper rest, the leadership issued them slips of signed paper authorizing them to recuperate and take a rest only to be returned by the recipients. The outstanding contribution of these builders to the socialist cause has also constantly raised their ideological level.

Expounding the great significance of the communist form of Saturday voluntary labor, Lenin referred to it as communism not in the book but in living realities. On the Chinshan worksite we are happy to see the budding communist spirit, illuminated by the radiance of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, breaking through the narrow confines of bourgeois rights.

Attaining the Level Set By Chinese Working Class

"Things in China must be done bravely." On the Chinshan worksite there are not only a host of difficult and heavy tasks requiring people to tackle but numerous new subjects of "first practice" are placed before them. Displaying the revolutionary innovative spirit, the brave builders

traverse the road not taken by those before them and constantly and energetically scale new peaks.

Shanghai has never made huge smokestacks 150 meters tall. Four months would be required if the old engineering processes were adopted. What was to be done? The Chinshan project could not wait that long. The workers and cadres of Team 107 decided to adopt a new technological process--integral lifting--without recourse to scaffolding. A new trail was blazed for China's structural engineering at high rigging.

On June 4 last year the smokestack rose to a height of 103 meters. Squad leader T'ang Yü-lung was leading the fighters in construction work. Suddenly, the weather changed and a gust of wind tore the fluttering banners to pieces. The flying scraps blocked the view of the builders while the gathering clouds were fast descending on the worksite. A raging storm was looming. Safety regulations would normally require the workers to drop everything during a thunderstorm. But T'ang eyed the 200-odd kilograms of unmixed reinforced concrete on the platform. Asking the workers whether they would leave the pile of concrete there, he heard them saying with one voice: "No, we shall seize every minute and second before the storm comes and finish the job before quitting the worksite!"

The storm pumped renewed vigor into the fighters. The comrades applied themselves to their job. All of a sudden a thunderbolt sent sparks to the steel frame of the platform. It was pouring. Leading comrades from the operations command hurried to the worksite and anxiously signaled the builders working aloft to come down. But the comrades working on the top, mindful of the effect of work stoppage on the quality of the project, continued to carry on despite the threat of a storm. As they were reciting Chairman Mao's teaching "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory," another thunderclap struck the Chinshan Transformer Plant and cut off its power supply. Without electricity the comrades could not get down from their lofty perch on the smokestack by the suspended leader. The safety of the 27 comrades aroused the anxiety of people watching below. Undaunted by the hazards of operating aloft, the comrades did not leave the top of the 100-meter-high smokestack until they had finished their job. Only then did they descend by the extension ladder from a fire engine. After the rain stopped they went up again to carry on their fight and completed their assigned task two hours ahead of schedule.

They are indeed fine comrades, heroes working on the Chinshan project. We do feel proud of them. Nothing in fact stands in the way of those who display such dauntless revolutionary spirit! The tall smokestack kept rising until it soared to 150 meters in 74 days of tough battle, a battle won by over a hundred workers who planted a red banner on the chimney top. Throughout the battle no serious accident occurred. A later measurement showed that the deflection of the tall smokestack was only four centimeters, one-fourth of the allowable limit of 15 centimeters, thus achieving a new level in China's structural engineering at high rigging.

The fearless builders on the Chinshan construction site have not only scaled the peak of structural engineering at high rigging but have also created a miracle in the history of China's underwater tunneling.

Sewage disposal calls for the construction of a tunnel outlet of 2.9 meters in diameter four meters below the sea floor. The conventional method of sinking tubes from a man-made island is costly and takes a longer time. This would affect the building tempo of the entire project.

On the basis of their own practical experience the tunnel workers proposed a revolutionary and bold hypothesis: boring the tunnel shield and shoving it forward until it is above the sea level.

The proposal caused a big stir at the meeting. Arguments wagged. Most people approved of the idea, an innovation in accord with the principle of achieving greater faster, better and more economical results. But all of them were wary of the hazards of undersea tunneling and the possibility of bringing about grave accidents. Some dismissed the proposed measure outright while others cautioned against venturing into something that had not been brought up in articles published in the past. But the workers, undaunted by the absence of international precedents and discourses published in scientific journals, ventured to delve into the proposed scheme, studying every phase of the hypothetical formula and verifying it with mathematic calculations. After several months of controversy, they finally prevailed upon their opponents to adopt the plan.

Who would spearhead the tunnel men became a problem as the workers vied with each other for the honor of being in the first batch of tunnel operators. The Party branch finally selected 19 comrades. They were led by the branch secretary and the leader of the construction team. The deputy secretary of the Party committee of the oil complex also brought along two cadres to the well site.

The second well pipe was found leaking when it was brought up to the sea level on January 6, 1975. Before the opening could be plugged with the soldering guns, the pressure of the surging sea water was so great that the leakage became a gushing torrent. The workers immediately called a meeting on the spot to discuss ways to stop the flow. The tide was then subsiding. Seizing every minute and second to plug the widening leakage and displaying the dauntless spirit of those who "dare to change the sun and moon which shine in new skies," the heroic tunnel workers battled with the sea water for nearly an hour and finally succeeded in diverting the leaking pipe to the sea.

With the completion of what was described as a formidable tunneling project, socialist new things and new achievements have kept emerging from the Chinshan worksite. We have often heard people saying as a kind of introduction: "This is the first time..." These pioneering feats and innovations have been most stimulating. People have been linking this revolutionary spirit with a demanding scientific attitude, an approach that has spurred the Chinshan project to go on advancing at a faster pace, with higher quality and steadily higher levels.

Nature Conquered by Revolutionary Wisdom

We saw a small and worn out vessel made of iron sheets lying on the worksite, something resembling a boat. The comrades there told us not to belittle this small boat for it had made significant contributions, deserving a place in the display halls of historical relics.

In the early stage of the Chinshan project, according to one of the comrades directing the operations, numerous technological innovations were introduced. One was to overcome the swampy nature of the land in the coastal region and the shallow creeks and streams which made transport of tons of heavy construction materials such as rocks and bags of mud both by land and boat impossible. But the builders armed with Mao Tsetung thought solved the tough problem by loading the materials onto flat-bottomed boats along the swampland, pulled by tractors at top speeds.

Just imagine the particular problems the swampy region presented and the requirement to complete the various stages of the big project in time. Instead of being daunted by the difficulties lying ahead, the builders on the Chinshan worksite pressed forward with renewed vigor and found inexhaustible potentialities as they battled with difficulties and hardships.

To move more than 250 pieces of "extra long, extra heavy and extra large" construction materials and machinery equipment in the second half of last year would have been impossible either by land or by the shallow and narrow waterways.

In the face of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, the raftsmen -- the "lowly" workers despised in the old society and mockingly dubbed "raft-head" by the capitalists and contractors alike -- took upon themselves the task of moving bulky pieces of construction items with wooden rafts, an ancient means of transport.

How did the raftsmen manage to haul pieces weighing a hundred tons? The raftsmen created a miracle. None of them had any knowledge of technical drawings. Yet the veteran raftsmen recalled their long years of experience in river transport in rough waters and in threes and fives made a few strokes here and there on the muddy ground with sharp-edged stones. Younger raftsmen holding their rice bowls did the same with wet chopsticks on the dining table. After only three or four days of discussions, more than 150 workers produced over 50 rough sketches, assorted drawings that had crystallized the workers' keen enthusiasm for socialism and their revolutionary sentiments. A young boatman and two master workmen spent two days and two nights without sleep and absorbed the fine points from 53 rough sketches to produce a blueprint of a container-shaped raft. To gain practical experience they first stacked a model with a thousand chopsticks. They surveyed on the spot the heights of every bridge spanning the inland waterways to Chinshan as well as the depth and width of every river and bay along the same path. They completed the surveys with the assistance of the relevant

departments. The elaborately conceived and hand-made rafts, capable of transporting heavy construction equipment of different sizes, were put to trial runs before all items, including the longest and the most bulky equipment, were taken to the project site without a hitch. The successful removal of the final transport hurdle by means of the primitive rafts tells us that "socialism has not only emancipated the laborers and the means of production from the old society but also liberated the broad natural world beyond the reach of the old society." The new radiance of the rafts, an ancient means of transport, has been evoked under socialist conditions.

The next problem the Chinshan builders faced concerned the installation of more than 200,000 tons of construction equipment, many requiring installation conforming to precise and exacting specifications. The frame of one huge furnace, supported by more than 800 steel beams and pillars and requiring over 20,000 bolted joints, demanded such precise installation that deflection allowed from top to bottom must not exceed one centimeter. According to material published abroad, attaining this precision level for a steel frame rising to a height equivalent to seven stories would require scaffolding before pillars and beams could be laid piece by piece from the bottom upward. This method of installation would normally take a half year's time, barring other speedier forms of installation which according to certain people would stand little chance of success.

The installation workers were determined to break down this superstition. After studying Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical essays "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," they analyzed the contradictory aspects of the different approaches to installation. They also considered the unconventional way of installation with emphasis on speed and a high degree of precision.

The question of minimizing deflection in the process of installation aloft again arose to keep the workers busy analyzing this contradiction. After tracing the cause of deflection and seeking the means to avoid it, they recalled a previous practice employed in other worksites involving the use of two levers, one for jacking up the equipment and another for steadying it and maintaining a perpendicular position. The workers found that the same method could be applied to the problem encountered in the installation of the frame of the cracking furnace.

On the day set for installing the whole piece of equipment, the huge steel frame was lifted from the ground to be adjusted aloft and steadied so it would be lowered and slipped exactly into the base to be locked in and securely bolted. The deflection was less than a half centimeter, more than meeting the specified requirement. Thus a job which in the opinion of some people would have required a half year was completed in only nine days.

The Chinese people are known for their industry, valor and wisdom. Here, we have another vivid proof.

Toward a Common Revolutionary Goal

"We have come from the four corners of the land, gathering together for the sake of a common revolutionary aim." The builders on the Chinshan worksite came from all parts of the country, from Shanghai, Tach'ing, Liaoyang, Wuhan, Kweichow, Honan, Szechwan and other localities. Many of them, workers, cadres, technicians, peasants, soldiers, voluntary and retired workers, commercial and medical workers, were not acquainted with each other before. But they all cherish a common objective and the same aspiration, that is, building the Chinshan project at an early date and contributing to the acceleration of socialist construction and consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

On the worksite we find the communist style of work being constantly carried forward and the socialist interrelations continuously perfected. Examples of giving convenience to others first and oneself last and of unity and cooperation are too numerous to mention here. What follows is about one of the mess halls on the construction site.

The mess hall is operated by Team 704. Except for a few master workmen who are attached to the team, most of the 50-odd working staff are peasants, neighborhood volunteer workers and rusticated young intellectuals. Although they work in the rear they have never fallen behind in the discharge of their duties. Their hearts are linked with those of the workers assigned to the battle front.

At the outset this mess hall was not run too well. One day it was quite hot so the kitchen staff delivered drinking water to the worksite. They were stunned on their return to find that the big bucket of hot drinking water had been emptied by the workers. The kitchen staff was astir. The amount of drinking water consumed here was equivalent to the sweat of the battle front workers. Discussions were started in the mess hall on how to serve the workers sweating at the battle front. The deputy secretary of the Party committee of the oil complex who happened to be in the mess hall to participate in labor explained to them the points for running the mess hall properly. He also helped them do their work well. Since then they worked untiringly from dawn to dusk to serve the battle front. In the battle for completing the main plant of the dacron mill, many builders forgot about their lunch in order to gain time and speed. When this was known to the mess hall workers, hot meals were delivered every day without interruption to the worksite rising 20-30 meters high. For a whole month three meals plus refreshments in between the regular meals were taken to the construction site. In addition, different kinds of food catering to the workers were prepared. On rainy days cupfuls of hot ginger soup were delivered to the workers. To enable the off-duty workers to dry their wet clothes, stoves were kept burning. Whenever the workers were taken ill and confined to the worksite clinic, meals were specially prepared for them. The enthusiasm of the workers on the battle front inspired those working at the rear. Conversely, the latter's revolutionary fervor likewise imparted vigor to the former. On being served with bowls of hot ginger soup on the worksite, many

workers said with feeling: "Our hearts are linked with those of the workers at the rear. We will win more victorious battles thanks to the solicitude of the organization and the comrades." Every big battle won on the Chinshan construction site was in fact attributable to the enthusiasm displayed by the workers at the rear.

It is this proletarian comradeship that has eliminated notions of individualism and departmentalism and greatly promoted the communist style of work. And it is this surge of enthusiasm that has closely united people from the four corners of the land to form a cohesive mass.

The common objective of socialism has united tens of thousands of builders on the Chinshan site. It has inspired many more others in Shanghai and throughout the country to contribute to the Chinshan project. Days and nights of sweating on the Chinshan worksite are enmeshed with those on every battle front in Shanghai and other parts of the country, inspiring and promoting one another. Every victory won on the Chinshan site is inseparable from the vigorous support given by the people of Shanghai and all over the country.

The Shanghai No. 3 Iron and Steel Mill produced in a very short time the manganese steel required by the Chinshan project.

In the early stages of the Chinshan project enormous quantities of construction materials and equipment were needed to keep construction going. Different trades and professions in Shanghai were then mobilized to check inventories for materials and equipment urgently needed on the Chinshan worksite. More than 160 truckfuls of equipment were delivered to Chinshan.

Air freezers needed on the Chinshan site were made in Sian. They were delivered by a convoy of four big trucks dispatched by a transportation unit of the Shensi Provincial Building and Construction Bureau because rail transport was then taxed to capacity. It took the convoy, led by the Party branch secretary, seven days and nights to make the long trek.

Similar examples are too numerous to mention. In capitalist society where everyone is concerned with his own gain, these things have never occurred. This serves as a forceful rebuttal to the idea of bourgeois rights and embodies the superiority of our socialist system. This superiority has been brought into fuller play through the continuous deepening of the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure.

The builders of the Chinshan project regard the support given by the people of the whole country and those of Shanghai as an expression of profound solicitude. They also regard it as a spur encouraging them to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in completing the big project. They have time and again expressed this grateful sentiment.

People are also grateful to Chinshan, however. On one occasion the Shanghai Construction Machinery Plant delivered two hoisting machines made specially for the Chinshan project. When the comrades of the project command thanked them for the delivery, the secretary of the plant's Party committee replied: "Not at all, we should thank you instead." Was this a mere gesture? No, the secretary was speaking his mind. The plant received an assignment last August to produce hoisting machines for Chinshan in addition to producing 15 excavation machines in the same month. The plant's Party committee found the assigned task a tough one. Later, more than 200 workers of the plant were taken to the Chinshan worksite on one Sunday for a visit. They were greatly inspired by what they had seen. As a result, the workers not only fulfilled their original plan but also produced two more hoisting machines for Chinshan. In the next two months they even raised the level of their monthly output, in addition to producing ten sets of shoveling devices for Chinshan. The attainment of a record output in this plant ushered in a new atmosphere throughout the plant.

The Shanghai Construction Machinery Plant is not the only one to have cherished this sentiment. In the course of giving support to the Chinshan project, different trades and professions in Shanghai constantly strove to step up their output and improve their work. This is Marxist dialectics. Other trades and professions in Shanghai likewise achieved many new records and trial manufactured innumerable new products for the state. The Chinshan project keeps advancing, as do various trades and professions in Shanghai. Like the tidal waves washing the shore of Chinshan, a surge of activities has prevailed.

The triumphant advance of socialism is very much in evidence in our country. This is a victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a victory of the deepening socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Once theory is in the grip of the masses, it will become a tremendous material force. The Chinshan project is still in progress, with people inspired by the slogan "Study theory, become masters and promote production," going all out to win still greater victories. Across the vast ocean the capitalist world is in the grip of grave political and economic crises. Its prospects is gloomy. In sharp contrast with the declining and moribund capitalism, our socialist cause is thriving. The scenery on this side is fine. We should feel happy about living in his great era. Like those battling day and night on the Chinshan worksite, let us struggle bravely to build our powerful socialist motherland under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

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The Historical Experience of the T'aip'ing T'ien Kuo Concerning the Problem of Unity

by

Hung Ch'eng (洪城)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1975)

The T'aip'ing rebellion /T'aip'ing T'ien Kuo/ that erupted in 1851 surpassed all peasant wars in scale and influence in the history of our country. The peasant heroes charged with the force of a thunderstorm dealt a heavy blow to the feudal rulers of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the Western capitalist aggressors, "demonstrating the staunch spirit of resistance on the part of the Chinese people unwilling to submit to imperialism and its running dogs." The T'aip'ing left behind a treasure of experience and lessons, of which an important one is this: only under the guidance of a revolutionary line can revolutionary unity be strengthened and victories continually won. Today, studying this historical experience with Marxism is of vital practical significance to strengthening the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, deeply criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I

In 1843, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, determined to "wield power to eliminate the evil and relieve the people of their sufferings," found a revolutionary group, the Association for the Worship of God. Later, with Feng Yün-shan he travelled a long distance to Kueip'ing, Kueihsien and Wuhsüan in Kwangsi where they propagated revolution deep among the masses. On the eve of the revolution, Hung wrote such revolutionary works as "Song of the Savior" in which he directed the spearhead of struggle at the Ch'ing court, running dog of imperialism, and the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. He asked: "God, the father of Heaven, belongs to everyone," "why does the emperor keep Him as his own?" With "God, the father of Heaven" as visualized by the peasants, he negated the privileges of absolute feudal monarchy. He called the Emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty "the demon tyrant of hell" and such reactionary rulers as the bureaucratic landlords "followers of the demon." Later, he loudly denounced the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as "the cause of all evil disturbances" and the "Four Books" and "Five Classics" as "books of the devil." At the same time, he also advocated that "since all men under Heaven are brothers and all women sisters, there should be no distinction as to rank and property ownership." He propounded his revolutionary idea of four big equalities -- political, economic and national equality and equality between sexes, encouraging people to oppose the oppression and exploitation of feudalism and foreign capitalism and to strive for the realization of the ideal of "mutual support and assistance" and "the world as one family where peace is enjoyed by all." After establishing his capital at T'ienching, he promulgated the revolutionary program "The Land System of the Kingdom

of Heaven" and advanced the historical task of opposing the feudal system of landownership. In this way, the line separating the revolutionary camp from the counter-revolutionary was drawn, the target of the revolution and the objective of fighting were made clear, and a revolutionary political line was formulated for the T'aip'ing.

This revolutionary line represented the interests and demands of the peasant class and all other laboring people, won the support of the masses in their millions, and laid a firm political foundation for revolutionary unity. Under the guidance of this revolutionary line, the T'aip'ing did a lot of work on the problem of unity and accelerated the rapid development of the revolution.

The T'aip'ing took great care to unite the masses of the people of various strata. They put forward such militant slogans of unity as "Together, let's fight to found a new nation" and "all brothers, new and old, are treated equally." They took the peasants as the basic masses, while also absorbing various social forces oppressed by the landlord class, such as miners, handicraftsmen, petty traders, poor people in the cities and frustrated intellectuals. Among them, workers of the silver mines in Kueihsien constituted an important force in the Chint'ien uprising. A battalion made up basically of coal miners in southern Hunan was good at digging tunnels in attack on cities, greatly raising the capacity of the T'aip'ing army in taking fortified cities. A battalion composed of boatmen in Yüehchou and its vicinity made indelible contributions to the frequent battles that raged over the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Armed groups made up of handicraftsmen performed outstanding merits in developing production, guaranteeing supplies, and supporting the front. The landlords derided the T'aip'ing, saying: "A whole court of civil and military officers is made up of 306 occupations." But this precisely shows how the T'aip'ing army had extensively united with the people of all strata and increased its fighting capacity.

Starting from its demand for political equality, the T'aip'ing opposed national oppression and upheld national unity. Kwangsi had always been a region where people of the Chuang nationality lived as a compact community. The Tzuchinshan mountain area, mecca of the revolution, was an area where the Chuangs predominated and mixed with the Han people. Great numbers of the laboring people of Chuang, Yao and other nationalities joined the revolutionary ranks and fought shoulder to shoulder with the laboring people of the Han, living and dying together. The T'aip'ing included in its leadership group and among officials at all levels members of fraternal nationalities, a reflection of the good relations of unity among the nationalities. Extraordinary credit went to women soldiers of the Chuang and Yao nationalities who fought bravely in the revolutionary war. "With bare feet and turbans on their heads, they climbed cliffs and crossed mountains, even outperforming men."*

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* Chang Te-chien, "Collections of Information About Enemy Movements," Vol. III.

In keeping with their demands for equality and taking into account the needs of intense battle, the T'aip'ing had at one time established the "holy treasury" system. They maintained that "everybody must work for the public and not private interest,"* and "all must share food and clothing together."** It was ruled that gold, jewels and silk captured in war should not be kept privately but should be all handed over to the "holy treasury." The daily needs of every person were supplied centrally and a largely egalitarian free supply system was enforced. Such military communism characterized by equality and mutual aid, hard work and plain living formed a sharp contrast to the feudal rank order, and assured the whole army of close solidarity and high morale. Even the enemy could not but admit that the T'aip'ing army "has thousands and tens of thousands of men who are solidly united..... Once joining the rebellion, they are never afraid to die."+

As to the leadership group,it, too, was more united than before. They "formed an alliance from the time they were still in the woods, lived and ate together, and treated each other like their own bone and flesh; acting in concert and swiftly, they were able to start a prairie fire."++ Unity of the leadership core accelerated the development of the revolutionary situation. However, with the infiltration of such people as Wei Ch'ang-hui into the leadership group, there were hidden factors of a split.

The T'aip'ing also directed its attention to forming battle alliances with other insurgent forces, especially carrying fruitful cooperation with T'ien-ti Hui /Heaven and Earth Association/ which had a broad mass base. The T'aip'ing army called on them to firmly keep in mind the revolutionary objective of "destroying the Ch'ing Dynasty with united efforts." From Hunan to Kiangsu, T'ien-ti Hui spread the news of the T'aip'ing army and served as its vanguard. Other T'ien-ti Huis in Kiangsi, Kwangtung and Fukien responded with a series of armed uprisings. Great numbers of the members of T'ien-ti Huis joined the revolutionary ranks of the T'aip'ing, among whom people like Lo Ta-kang and Su San-niang became famous generals of the T'aip'ing army. Later, the T'aip'ing army also fought side by side with the Nien army. The joint and coordinated actions of the T'aip'ing army and its friendly armies dispersed the enemy forces, throwing the Ch'ing army into a state of confusion as it lost many battles in a row.

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* "The Edict of Heavenly Will."

** "The Land System of the Heavenly Kingdom."

\+ "Strategy for Suppressing the Bandits in Kwangtung," Vol. IX.

++ "Collections of Information About Enemy Movements," Vol. VI.

In feudal society, if peasants engaged in individual production did not get themselves organized but remained like a plate of loose sand, they would not have the power to do anything. Only by uniting under the guidance of a revolutionary line could class forces be shaped to varying degrees to wage a struggle against the landlord class that exploited and oppressed them. Lenin pointed out: "So long as the millions of laborers are united like one man and follow the lead taken by the outstanding personalities of their own class, victory will also be assured." ("Two Recorded Speeches") In the early period of the T'aip'ing, within the limits permitted by historical conditions at that time, attention was paid to forming alliances with the broad masses of various nationalities and class strata and uniting the insurgent armies of various regions, which, under the leadership of the outstanding leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, shattered the feudal rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the running dog of imperialism. Consequently, during the two years or so after the Chint'ien uprising, an insurgent force of barely 20,000 men had multiplied rapidly into a mighty army of a million strong. In the spring of 1853, the T'aip'ing army took Nanking at one swoop and established a powerful revolutionary regime that confronted the Ch'ing Dynasty for a long time.

II

The remarkable victories gained through the united efforts of the T'aip'ing army drove the class enemies into a state of hysteria. Therefore, while resorting to bloody suppression, they did their utmost to disrupt revolutionary unity and split the insurgent forces through a series of plots.

In 1854, a foreigner said after an analysis of the situation: "Judging from the present situation, nothing can stop them from winning victory. If there is anything, it can only be internal squabble."* It revealed to a certain extent the new trend of class struggle. In that same year, Tseng Kuo-fan, the running dog of the Ch'ing court, promulgated his "Summons to Arms To Quell Bandits in Kwangtung" and spread rumors saying: The revolution of the T'aip'ing prevented the land tillers from tilling their land and merchants from doing business. He also used the reactionary influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the concept of feudal localism to create barriers and sow dissension between the T'aip'ing army and intellectuals as well as among armies of various regions in a bid to divide the revolutionary camp. A counter-revolutionary element by the name of Chang Chi-keng, hiding in the capital of the T'aip'ing, also tried to collect information everywhere and spread rumors, saying that the leaders of the T'aip'ing "treated people from Kwangsi better than those from

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* "North China Herald."

Hunan," trying to arouse discontent among a section of the soldiers in the water-borne battalion and inciting them to stage a counter-revolutionary revolt. The rulers of the Ch'ing Dynasty also ordered that money and high appointment be used as bait to "do all that can be done to disperse those forced into banditry." The reactionary rulers gave special attention to winning over alien class elements and degenerates and persuade them to surrender with the Confucian-Mencian doctrines of "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty to the Emperor." In 1859, the enemy, taking advantage of the fact that while Ch'en Yu-ch'eng had been made a prince, Li Hsiu-ch'eng had not yet been made a prince, immediately instructed the traitor Li Chao-shou to talk Li Hsiu-ch'eng into surrendering. Later, when Li Hsiu-ch'eng practiced class capitulationist "benevolent rule" in the Kiangsu and Chekiang area, the reactionary rulers showed even greater interest in him. Even on the eve of his death the governor of Chekiang Wang Yu-ling expressed the hope that he /Li Hsiu-ch'eng/ could "spare" the feudal forces in the city of Hangchow. This Li Hsiu-ch'eng did, and he even ordered a "ceremonial burial" of Wang's body. The reactionary bureaucrat Mi Hsing-tu had a long talk with Li Hsiu-ch'eng on "world affairs" that went on deep into the night, learning that he had parted company with the T'aip'ing. After he was allowed to escape, Mi still wrote to him, saying: "You are an outstanding prince of loyalty, but it's pity that you have not yet met a wise ruler. What a pity!"* He did his best to incite Li to oppose Hung Hsiu-ch'uan and engage in splittist and capitulationist activities.

During the early period of the revolution, the T'aip'ing was relatively alert to splittist and sabotage activities by the external enemies, and took a series of preventive and counter measures. Not long after the T'aip'ing army marched into Yungan, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan ordered his generals and soldiers to "advance together with united effort" and guard against enemies' "various intrigues."** He exposed the enemies' "plot" citing the typical case of Chou Hsi-neng's defection to the enemies and his return to the camp to stir up rebellion. Pointing out Chou's "treachery," he taught the whole army "to judge everything wisely in light of changing circumstances,"*** to raise their vigilance and take the revolutionary road resolutely. After the capital was established at T'ienching, attempts at sowing discord and plotting a rebellion by the counter-revolutionary element Chang Chi-keng were uncovered promptly and suppressed with a firm hand. However, splits and counter-revolutionary coup d'etat might possibly appear within the leadership group, and of this the revolutionary leaders of the T'aip'ing were not sufficiently aware.

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* "A Self-Statement by Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

** "The Edict of Heavenly Will."

*** "Edict of the Heavenly Father on Descending to the World," Part I.

This enabled the landlord class to conduct splittist activities through their agents who wormed their way into the insurgent ranks.

Hidden in the leadership group was the landlord element Wei Ch'ang-hui, a ferocious enemy undermining the solidarity of the peasant ranks. Wei was originally a landlord of Kweiping county, and had from his early years studied the classics of Confucius and Mencius. He was a schemer. After worming his way into the revolutionary ranks, he usurped the title of Northern Prince. This alien class element did his best to gain the confidence of people with his double-dealing tactics. He also used feudal ethics and lifestyle to lure and corrupt the revolutionary leadership group. Although Wei tried to fawn on everybody, he had deep in him an evil design such that even the enemies saw his "secret ambition to seize power."

During the first half of 1856, the T'aip'ing army routed the Ch'ing troops in north and south Kiangsu and gained control of the upper reaches of the capital. It won a series of military successes and the situation was exceedingly favorable. But, severely corrupted by feudal ideology, the Eastern Prince Yang Hsiu-ch'ing turned overweening and dictatorial and even went so far as to force Hung Hsiu-ch'uan to call him "Wan Sui" /Long Life or the Emperor/. With revolutionary unity of the leadership nucleus gravely impaired, the class enemies were given a golden opportunity to engineer splits and sabotage.

In meeting the needs of reactionaries both at home and abroad to destroy the revolution, Wei Ch'ang-hui immediately seized the opportunity to unleash a counter-revolutionary revolt. In the late hours of the night on September 1, Wei Ch'ang-hui took three thousand men back to T'ienching, besieged the palace of the Eastern Prince, and killed Yang Hsiu-ch'ing and a great number of palace officials. Moreover, he plotted to have Hung Hsiu-ch'uan assassinated. The massacre lasted for two months as more than 20,000 loyal commanders and soldiers of the T'aip'ing perished in a bloodbath. Wei's outrages aroused strong indignation on the part of the officers and men of the T'aip'ing army, who, led by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, united and firmly suppressed this counter-revolutionary. In the wake of it, Wei was downgraded and called a "bug." Hung called on the entire army and people to learn the lesson from this serious incident and carry the revolution through to the end.

Wei Ch'ang-hui's jumping out to stage a counter-revolutionary revolt, when the T'aip'ing was winning one victory after another, was determined by his reactionary class nature. It exposed his ambition to usurp the supreme power of leadership and his plot to split the peasant ranks. It was a soul-stirring class struggle, a reflection of the life-and-death battle between the landlord class and the peasantry within the T'aip'ing.

From Tseng Kuo-fan's counter-revolutionary proclamation to Wei Ch'ang-hui's counter-revolutionary rebellion, it shows clearly that in

strangling the peasant revolution, the reactionary class took the split of the revolutionary ranks as an important measure and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and other feudal ethics as an ideological weapon with which to corrupt the forces of revolution and carry out splittist activities. This is a phenomenon invariably accompanying the revolution of the T'aip'ing and various peasant uprisings in history.

III

Since problems of unity have so much to do with the success or failure of the revolution, the sharp and complicated class struggle is bound to be reflected on this matter. In the course of its development, the T'aip'ing was from first to last confronted with the struggle between the two lines -- to persist in unity or create a split, and this struggle was even more acute in its latter period.

In any great revolutionary tide, it is inevitable that the good are mixed with the bad. Those with evil intents and those who degenerate would meet the needs of the reactionaries at the critical moment and become secessionists undermining revolutionary unity.

In November 1856, after Wei Ch'ang-hui's counter-revolutionary revolt, Shih Ta-k'ai returned to the capital to take the reins of government. Because his ambition to usurp power was checked, he left the capital in June the following year without the least regard to the critical situation that had developed then as the Ch'ing army was advancing toward the border. He took with him more than 100,000 men by deceptive means and openly raised the banner of secession. By taking away a large number of crack troops, Shih Ta-k'ai not only caused the T'aip'ing great military difficulties, but also divided and disintegrated the T'aip'ing army politically and ideologically by sowing dissatisfaction with Hung Hsiu-ch'uan all along the way. In 1860, after they reached Kwangsi, the majority of officers and men gradually came to know the truth and waged a resolute struggle against him, demanding that he "return to the capital to assist the imperial court." But Shih Ta-k'ai stubbornly stuck to his secessionist line and executed Ts'ai Tz'u-hsien who upheld revolutionary unity and took the lead to rebel and "turn back." This was too much for the officers and men to take, and they rose to turn away from him. Under the leadership of Chu I-tien and others, they began the "long march back to the capital" and advanced to Kuanghsin, Kiangsi, in September 1861 to meet victoriously with the T'aip'ing troops there.* When the news reached T'ienching, the city was filled with great joy and Hung Hsiu-ch'uan gave the homecoming army the glorious title of "Heavenly Army Supporting the Court."

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* "Memorial to the Heavenly Father by 67 Generals Including the Chief Commander Chi Ch'ing-yüan."

This amply demonstrated the futility of the secessionist line and that the demand of the broad masses for unity and opposition to secession was the mainstream of history. More and more isolated with each passing day, Shih Ta-k'ai was finally defeated at the Tatu River in May 1863 and killed after his surrender. Such was the inevitable outcome of a secessionist.

Wei Ch'ang-hui's counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and the secessionist attempt by Shih Ta-k'ai prompted the leaders of the T'aip'ing to further recognize the importance of maintaining unity and solidarity. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, with the support of the vast numbers of revolutionary commanders and soldiers, quickly had all military and political powers concentrated in his hands and overcame a phase in which orders were not obeyed and there was ideological laxity. In 1858, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan ordered Ch'en Yü-ch'eng and others to hold a meeting of generals and officers of various armies at the town of Ts'ungyang in Anhwei to strengthen the unity of the army and centralize operational planning and troop deployments. In the wake of the meeting, the T'aip'ing army began its relentless offensive and took Luchou, Wu-i and P'uk'ou, routed the Ch'ing troops in north Kiangsu and occupied their headquarters at Yangchou. Ch'en Yü-ch'eng then immediately swung westward toward the town of Sanho, Luchou, annihilated at one stroke the crack troops of the Hunan army under the command of Li Hsu-ping, relieved Anch'ing of its siege and turned the tide for the whole critical military situation caused by Shih Ta-k'ai's flight.

After 1860, the Second Opium War over, reactionaries in China and abroad colluded with each other on all fronts and made joint efforts to suppress the peasant uprisings mercilessly. The T'aip'ing army courageously advanced toward Kiangsu and Chekiang -- the heartland of mutual collusion of Chinese and foreign reactionaries. It launched violent attacks on the landlord class in the Kiangsu-Chekiang area militarily, politically, economically and culturally, and the landlord class frenziedly fought back on all fronts. The class struggle was extremely sharp and complicated. Some feudal diehard forces, gathering in large and small "fortified villages," put up stubborn resistance against the T'aip'ing army until they were totally wiped out by the revolutionary armed forces, one typical example being the Pao village in Chuchi county, Chekiang, a village where a landlord regiment was entrenched. But more numerous and difficult to detect were those landlord "fortified villages" that raised the banner of the T'aip'ing and led by such people as Hsü P'ei-yüan in Suchow and Ch'angshu and nearby areas. Take Hsü P'ei-yüan, the local bully in the town of Yungch'ang in Suchow, for example. He played a double game by raising the banner of the T'aip'ing army and turned the town into a sanctuary for fugitive landlords from adjacent areas. Once these landlord elements wormed their way into the revolutionary camp, not only did they do their utmost to maintain their vested interests, but they also did everything they could to corrupt the generals of the T'aip'ing army with feudal ideology and lifestyle so the latter would degenerate and become their agents.

Under such conditions, the struggle between the two lines in the T'aip'ing -- to unite and struggle to the end with renewed spirit or to give way to pessimism and despair and finally to compromise and surrender -- became extremely sharp. The great majority of commanders and officers trained by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan united to cope with the enemies, took many important measures to safeguard solidarity and unity as well as centralized power, and carried out ceaseless struggle against all splittist tendencies. The "New Rules and Regulations of Government" drafted by Hung Jen-kan and approved by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan made it very clear from the beginning that "manipulations by secret parties are prohibited," and sectarian, splittist activities were severely criticized. It read: "Once there are party alliances, people would seek their own reputation and private interests would be promoted to the detriment of the public interest." It called for stronger unified leadership and the enjoinment of central authority. "All powers are to be vested in the central authority," and the army and the people were called upon to unite in mind and body to carry on the bloody war against the enemies to the finish.

After Shih Ta-k'ai's flight, the renegade Li Hsiu-ch'eng did all he could to establish small mountain-holds, refused to subject himself to central commands, and repeatedly upset Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's correct strategic plans, while continuing to pursue a splittist line. He went all out to spread the theory of Heavenly will in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, pessimism and despair in order to demoralize the army and sap its fighting spirit. Amidst the cheers of landlords, he made great sincere efforts to plan "benevolent rule," openly prohibiting the T'aip'ing army to go to the countryside and hindering the attack on the feudal forces in the rural areas. His faithful subordinates praised the rich landlords and helped them in suppressing peasants who refused to pay rents. This even encouraged the frantic activities of the feudal forces, with the result that Kiangsu and Chekiang fell successively to the Ch'ing troops.

In 1864, the capital T'ienching was heavily surrounded by the Ch'ing troops, and the situation was extremely critical. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan further mobilized the whole of the army and people to unite as one man and fight to the finish. Sharing the weal and woe with the masses, he ate wild plants when grain ran out, and finally sacrificed his life for his country. But Li Hsiu-ch'eng, through his brother-in-law, made a number of contacts with the enemy for surrender. In July 1864, the walls of the Heavenly capital broke, but the defending commanders and soldiers of the T'aip'ing army stood firm and resisted heroically. When Li Hsiu-ch'eng was captured, he begged the enemy for mercy and became a disgraceful traitor.

The splittist line pushed by Shih Ta-k'ai and Li Hsiu-ch'eng gravely impaired the revolutionary unity of the T'aip'ing and played a role Tseng Kuo-fan could not play. But though they themselves surrendered, they could not escape being killed. This profoundly shows that splittists, being extremely reactionary politically, are bound to betray the revolution and are bound to be spurned by the people and punished by history.

Much inspiration is drawn from our study of the historical experiences of the T'aip'ing on matters regarding unity.

The history of the T'aip'ing fully reveals the importance of revolutionary unity. The reason that the T'aip'ing army was able to grow from small to large and to continuously win victories was because it upheld revolutionary unity. But in talking about unity, we must first of all talk about the line. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan put together all the demands and wisdom of the millions upon millions of peasant masses and presented a political line bent against the feudal rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the aggression of foreign capitalism. With a political line such as this, it was possible to extensively unite the revolutionary forces of various nationalities, strata, and insurgent ranks to strive for the realization of a single revolutionary goal and to deal heavy blows to the rulers of the Ch'ing Dynasty and foreign aggressors.

In feudal society, peasants were laborers, an exploited and oppressed class. They were resolute in resisting the oppression by the feudal landlord class and foreign capitalism. The spirit of the T'aip'ing in sticking to unity and fighting courageously is forever worthy of our respect and promotion. However, peasants were small producers, not the representatives of new relations of production. They were unable to understand the laws of social development, and could only draw the blueprint of a new world on the basis of egalitarian ideas. They were persistent in their struggle against the feudal system and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but were unable to destroy them thoroughly. Especially when they entered cities, the peasants, with the mentality of small owners, found it impossible to effectively resist the all-pervasive corrosion of feudalist ideology and lifestyle. A number of generals gradually degenerated, departed from the revolutionary line day by day, and ended up as agents of the landlord class within the ranks of insurgents. Fighting an old-type peasant war, the T'aip'ing could not overcome the weak points of its own class, nor could it completely overcome the divisive and disruptive activities of the class enemies. Hence, its failure to permanently maintain the unity and solidarity of the leadership group and the whole of the revolutionary ranks.

History has shown that the basic reason behind the debacle of the T'aip'ing was that "it did not have the correct leadership that is presently available to all proletarians and communist parties." The proletariat is the greatest of all classes in human history, and shoulders the great historical mission of exterminating all exploiting systems and classes, of liberating the whole of mankind. The proletariat, armed with Marxism, a powerful ideological weapon, is entirely capable of overcoming the sabotage of the class enemies and the influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, of correctly handling the contradictions among the people, uniting with everyone that can be united, and of forming a great revolutionary army to march victoriously toward the great goal of communism. In summing up the historical experience of the T'aip'ing

and looking forward to the historical mission of the proletariat, we must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought earnestly, make every effort to remold our world outlook, and develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the whole country should closely unite around the Party Central Committee and fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for new and still greater victories!

* * *

Han Fei's Criticism and Transformation of the Thought of "Lao Tzu"

by

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The whole set of theories introduced by Han Fei concerning the need of the newly emerging landlord class to establish and consolidate its own dictatorship were a product of class struggle, a decisive engagement between the feudal system and the slave system at that time. To a certain extent, Han Fei also summarized both the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience gained from social change, critically absorbing some of the ideological contributions made by his predecessors. What draws one's attention is the fact that he attached great importance to the criticism and transformation of the theories of "Lao Tzu," whose reactionary, idealistic dregs he discarded and whose plain and simple dialectical essentials he kept, thereby enriching the ideological arsenal of the newly emerging landlord class. Why and how did Han Fei set about criticizing and transforming the theories of "Lao Tzu"? And how did he transform the theories of "Lao Tzu" into part of the Legalist doctrine to serve the newly emerging landlord class? A clear understanding of these questions may be helpful in summing up certain historical experiences of the dictatorship of the landlord class in its rising period.

"Lao Tzu" was a representative work of the Taoist school during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Like the Confucian ideology, the Taoist ideology in "Lao Tzu" belonged to the slave-owner class, but the two completely differed in social position in that the Taoist school represented the interests of the slave-owners of the lower stratum. During the great upheavals at that time, this stratum was the first to decline, its position extremely unstable. Naturally, they had irreconcilable contradictions with the newly emerging landlord class and in a mood of despair attacked the "rule by law" line and the feudal mode of production for causing hunger and "thieves and robbers." But at the same time, they were also highly discontented with the slave-owner aristocrats, regarding the teachings of the Confucian school as the root cause of all social disruptions, denouncing "propriety" as "the primary cause of disorder," and so on and so forth. Although there was an essential difference between the Taoist opposition to "propriety" and Legalist opposition to "propriety," they merely complained that Confucian "propriety" did not give expression to their wishes and could not save them from decline. However, since they formed the lower echelon of the ruling camp of slave-owners, one may see some of the internal contradictions of the slave-owner class, and that there were some instances where their criticism of the Confucian doctrines was

strikingly incisive. Such criticism was, in an objective sense, helpful to the Legalists in their struggle against the Confucians.

The early Legalists Shen Tao and Shen Pu-hai had in different degrees criticized and transformed the thought of "Lao Tzu." By the time of Han Fei, the newly emerging landlord class was faced with the historical task of striving for and establishing its own dominant position on a nationwide scale, and urgently needed to formulate on the theoretical plane a complete ideological and political line, to prove the inevitability of the great social change and the growth of the newly emerging landlord class from weak to strong. Han Fei's criticism and transformation of the thought of "Lao Tzu" were precisely geared to this political objective of seizing and consolidating nationwide state power.

The rational factors in "Lao Tzu" centered on its conception of change, which also formed the main basis of Han Fei's critical absorption.

Do things change and develop or become static in nature and society? This was a focal point of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines at that time. The Legalists demanded reform and progress, believing that everything in this world was evolving and developing, there being no eternal or immutable things. The Confucianists insisted on regression as they advocated that "in all times, there has been and there still is only one set of rules" and that "the past is what one should believe in and appreciate" in an attempt to obstruct with metaphysics the wheel of history from rolling ahead. The confrontation of the two reflected the conflict between reform and restoration in actual class struggle.

What was the concept of change in "Lao Tzu"? "Lao Tzu" was a military work. It discovered a number of laws from numerous wars, big and small, that were full of dialectics, and arrived at the strategic idea that "the soft and weak could overpower the tough and strong," affirming that everything was in a state of change. And the lower-echelon slave owners, as a stratum that was rapidly declining in the wake of great social upheavals, could not but admit that the world was changing. The saying that "in misfortune lurks fortune, and fortune hides misfortune" was in fact a philosophical projection of the changing status of this stratum. "Lao Tzu" presumed, vaguely though, that everything such as beauty and ugliness, eminence and lowliness, glory and disgrace, advance and retreat, large and small, difficulty and ease, etc., all reflected the unity of opposites, that things would turn to their opposite once they reached their peak, in the same way as "fortunes" and "misfortunes" transformed into each other. But the lower-echelon slave owners were after all a declining stratum on the brink of death; therefore, as they saw it, the course of development of things did not mean the extermination of the old quality and the emergence of a new quality, but a return to its original state after certain changes, as expressed by the saying: "Everything eventually returns to its roots." Proceeding from such a viewpoint of returning to the old, "Lao Tzu"

advocated "inaction." It said: "When the limit of emptiness is reached, a state of quiet is observed. Hence all things grow together, and the original look is restored." "If there is no conflict, there also will be no suffering." It opposed any action that would obstruct the "natural" restoration of "all things" to their original features, in order that one might rise again from decline.

The concept of change in "Lao Tzu" had its merits as well as its flaws. Its dialectical idea and Han Fei's theory of historical evolution, though starting from different premises, were consistent in certain respects in so far as they acknowledged the motion and change of things. As to its "cyclical theory" of regression, it was intolerable to the newly emerging landlord class. In critically absorbing the Taoist theory of change, Han Fei corrected "Lao Tzu's" idealistic argumentation that put the cart before the horse and transformed it into a theory concerning the change and development of objective things. He said: "If we look at the principles of all things, we see that they change constantly; this being so, there are therefore no hard and fast rules." ("Han Fei Tzu: Interpreting Lao Tzu." Hereafter only the name of the chapter will be cited.) "Circumstances are constantly changing, so measures to deal with them should vary." ("Five Vermin") Everything is "changing" and developing, so it is impossible for different times to experience the same "occurrences." This is what provided the Legalists with a theoretical basis for taking reform actions.

It was under this premise that Han Fei transformed the doctrine of "Lao Tzu" regarding contradictions. The author of "Lao Tzu" had given an account of many of the contradicting phenomena in nature and society, but not once did he point to the disequilibrium between the two opposites in a contradiction. Han Fei, dissatisfied with the way contradictions were listed with equal stress on both opposites, pointed out further: "Things do not flourish together; this is true with the negative forces (Yin) and the positive forces (Yang)." ("Interpreting Lao Tzu") In other words, the two aspects of a contradiction are not equal in strength. If the negative forces are strong, the positive forces will decline, and vice versa. The "both strong" situation does not arise. One aspect either overcomes or is overcome by the other, and struggle is inevitable. He quoted "Huang Ti" as saying: "A hundred battles are fought at the top and bottom each day." ("Wielding Power") Not only in the world of nature but in human society and between a king and his ministers, there is no lack of contradictions and struggles, thus negating basically the theory of "non-struggle" and reconciliability of contradictions, as set forth in "Lao Tzu."

How should one approach the transformation of contradictions? There is also a clear difference between the Legalist and Taoist schools. Based on its understanding of the conflict as well as connection between contradictions, "Lao Tzu" emphasized in a more dialectical manner the transformation of the weak and the strong, and touched in general terms on the fact that any transformation of contradictions in either direction would be conditional. For example, "if you wish to tighten something, you must first loosen it," "if you wish to take something, you must first

give it away," "those who are skilful in fighting never lose their temper," "there is no disaster greater than under-estimating the enemy," etc. Here, "loosening," "giving away," "not losing one's temper" and "under-estimating the enemy" are all conditions. But the author of "Lao Tzu" failed to proceed any further from this point, for he represented the class position of the lower-echelon, declining slave owners. This determined his inability to look ahead and to promote the transformation of matter through active struggle. All he could do was only to wait passively until "things transform themselves." The consequence was that faced with such changes people could only watch quietly and could do nothing at all. "Anyone who tries to do something will only court disaster." Instead, one should wait for the "natural" advent of the day when "the soft and weak overpower the tough and strong." In this way, the strategic notion of "the soft and weak overpowering the tough and strong" not only was of no use at all to the author of "Lao Tzu," but would only accelerate the process of death of the declining "soft and weak," who were to perish and be buried as sacrificial items with the old world. It was sheer illusion for them to try to return to the cosy nest of "a small state with a small population."

Proceeding from the demands of the newly emerging landlord class for seizing state power and consolidating it, Han Fei believed that "if one goes on the right track" and "sticks to rules and principles," misfortune would turn into fortune, that "if one goes astray or resorts to improper means" and "neglects the rules and principles," then even fortune would turn into misfortune. Essentially this meant that conditions could be created through struggle to promote the mutual transformation of the opposites in a contradiction. Therefore, Han Fei negated the passive "inaction" of "Lao Tzu," and stressed that the newly emerging landlord class must positively "do something." Han Fei once also borrowed the term "inaction," but only when he reversed what "Lao Tzu" had said about "not daring to do anything to change the natural course of things." He basically rejected such passive idea as "not daring to act" and replaced "the natural course of things" with the reformed version of "there are rules to everything." "If you want to do something and follow the rules, you are likely to succeed." ("Interpreting Lao Tzu") By "rules" and "principles," he meant the specific laws governing matter itself. For example, when Han Fei was commenting on the proposition of "Lao Tzu" that "being content with one's weakness is strength," he cited the historical examples of Chou's conquest of Shang and Yueh's subjugation of Wu. Here "being content with weaknesses" meant only that when Chou and Yueh were still weak, they must not challenge the stronger enemy to a showdown regardless of the objective conditions. In reality, King Wen and King Wu of Chou and Kou Chien, King of Yueh, overcame their opponents only after actively making preparations to build up their strength and create the conditions for their gradual transformation from weak to strong. Was there any trace of the passive wait-and-see attitude of "Lao Tzu"? Not a bit. Reflected here was the active enterprising spirit of the newly emerging landlord class, which felt confident that its cause rode the tide of historical development. With that sense of superiority

and self-confidence, and so long as they actively developed their subjective initiative in light of objective conditions, they were bound to win.

In talking about change, "Lao Tzu" neglected the stability of quality and opened the back door to relativism. On the basis of summing up the initial experience gained by the landlord class in consolidating its state power, Han Fei recognized change, but at times he also stressed the need for a certain degree of constancy. By change, he meant the change from the slave to the feudal system; and by constancy, he meant that after the dictatorship of the landlord class was established, there was the need for a phase of relative stability during which a correct Legalist line could be firmly upheld, with no reversion permitted. That was why he said: "Now that laws are fixed, they must not be impaired by those who are skilful in words." ("Orders") "Therefore, a ruler having the Way prefers silence and pays no attention to reform." ("Interpreting Lao Tzu") This "negation of reform" closed the philosophical loophole through which "Lao Tzu" had fallen into a certain empty space of relativism by means of the regressive "cyclical theory." Politically, although it implied a limitation in that the establishment of the feudal system was regarded as the last stop in social change, it was at that time still primarily an expression of the will and desires to stick to the Legalist line and consolidate the dictatorship of the landlord class.

While discussing its own conception of change, "Lao Tzu" put forward a concept of "Tao." This not only constituted the starting point and generalization of its conception of change, but also stifled the dialectical rational elements in the conception of change. Therefore, when Han Fei was criticizing and transforming the conception of change in "Lao Tzu," he could not but proceed to criticize and transform "Tao," the main category of "Lao Tzu."

In "Lao Tzu," "Tao" was viewed as something "born prior to the appearance of heaven and earth," "independent and unchangeable," something unknowable and incomprehensible. It dominated the movements and changes of all things. These mysterious concepts of objective idealism indicated that the thinkers of the lower-echelon, declining slave owner class had a distorted understanding of the origin of the world and its general laws. But they reflected a certain attempt of people at that time to understand the world in greater breadth and depth. As the representative of advanced relations of production, the landlord class in its rising period always leaned toward materialism. Han Fei reasoned that "Tao" could not have existed before the world of nature and society, but came into existence together with them. ("Interpreting Lao Tzu") "Tao" governs all things and all rules would have to bow." (Ibid.) In this way, Han Fei accredited the origin of the world to matter, and interpreted "Tao" as the general law governing the movement of matter. The truth was that since the Warring States period, although the landlord class in various principalities carried out certain reforms, some succeeded and some failed. Of the various measures they proposed, some worked here but failed there, some worked in certain localities, but not on a

nationwide scale. For example, Shang Yang introduced reforms, and Shen Pu-hai and Shen Tao also put forward their views on "the art of government" and the "situation." But because they either "over-stressed law" but "lacked the skill to detect treachery" or "over-stressed the art of government" but were "not good at applying the law" ("Fixing the Law") or "fell to appoint people on merit but depend solely on the situation," ("The Difficulty of Being a Situation") they were unable to raise the Legalist theory to the degree of "perfection." ("Fixing the Law") The newly emerging landlord class benefitted greatly from their positive and negative experiences, seeing that specific experiences always had certain limitations, that it was not enough just to do things according to experiences, and that it was imperative to draw from past specific experience and work out a more complete, universal and general law to guide struggle at a given time. The fact that philosophically Han Fei criticized and transformed the concept of "Tao" in "Lao Tzu" and politically proposed to take "law" as the main emphasis and combine "law" with "art" and "situation" precisely reflected the process of elevation of this development.

Han Fei's elaboration of "Tao" has strong political implications. In his "The Way of the Ruler," after presenting his concept of "Tao," he said: "Therefore, the wise ruler knows the origin of all things and enforces discipline to insure his success." In other words, a ruler should set his eyes on major policies and issues before he could rule effectively and tell right from wrong. It wouldn't do for him to bury his head in day-to-day routine. Han Fei held that "quiet and inaction is Tao." ("Wielding Power") Since "the wise ruler" holds "Tao" in his grips, under the system of feudal centralized power with "ministers and officials carrying out their respective functions," he can "know what is going on without having to manage the state affairs himself and be free of worries." ("The Way of the Ruler") In other words, this is "rule by inactivity," which is synonymous with intensifying the central authority of the feudal monarch. In the early and middle periods of Western Han, the landlord class practiced the Taoist doctrine of "rule by inactivities" which was "Taoist in form and Legalist in essence," and this was in the same vein as the Taoist thought as criticized and transformed by Han Fei. From Ts'ao Ts'an, who stuck to the Legalist line formulated by Liu Pang and Hsiao Ho, to Ch'en P'ing, who suggested that the prime minister should assist the ruler in grasping those issues with a bearing on the overall situation, is it possible to find the ideas of Han Fei?

The theory of "Lao Tzu," having been criticized and transformed by Han Fei, was no longer the Taoist thought in its original sense, but became a component part of the Legalist ideological system. The completion of Han Fei's criticism and transformation of the thought of "Lao Tzu" marked the increasing ideological maturity of the newly emerging landlord class through its long struggle against Confucianism. Nevertheless, it was still an ideological struggle waged by one exploiting class against another, and just as the landlord class found itself incapable of thoroughly suppressing the slave owners politically, so its criticism in the ideological field could not be thorough. The

theory on the dictatorship of the landlord class as summed up by Han Fei also included the aspect of suppressing the peasantry. His theory of historical evolution, namely, the theory of development of the landlord class, expressed the great confidence of the ascending landlord class in its future, enriched the theories of the Legalist school supporting social changes and added to the glory of China's ancient dialectics. However, such a theory of development was still lacking in thoroughness. Once the dictatorship of the landlord class was consolidated, it likewise regarded the realm of its own class as the zenith of social development and came to a standstill. If the adherence of the landlord class in early Han to the Taoist doctrine reflected the positive, and primary, aspect as well as the conservative aspect of this class, we may also find the ideological causes of the latter aspect in Han Fei's thinking, and this is exactly where the limitations of an exploiting class lie.

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